

PRESENTATION BY AMBASSADOR JONATHAN DEAN TO CONGRESSIONAL TEACH-IN ON KOSOVO

I want to thank the Chairman for conducting these hearings, both as regards the subject matter, which is acutely important for our country, and for the format in which you are doing this. I find this mixture of views to be very useful. I am much more used to the atmosphere in the UN where the NGOs are permitted to come in for 5 minutes to address the delegates from a distance. This is a great device for encouraging dialogue, particularly on this important subject. I've learned a great deal from the two insightful statements we have heard today.

As we think of a negotiated outcome for the Kosovo crisis, which is what we should be working for hard, we can't forget that Milosevic is responsible for the ongoing, widespread brutal killing of Kosovo Albanians. And it is justified to negotiate with him only in the interest of stopping the killing in Yugoslavia. It's still possible to reach a negotiated settlement on the Kosovo issue, quite rapidly, even within a few days. This is because many issues are close to solution. The removal of Serbian forces, the return of the Kosovars, continuation of Kosovo as an autonomous part of Serbia (at least for the time being), and the presence of an international force. As the Bonn group meeting earlier today showed, the main issue in what is now a three-cornered dialogue—between Milosevic, Chernomyrdin, and the Western NATO countries—is the nature of that force, its armament and its composition. All three parties agree that the force should be legitimized by a mandate from the Security Council and that is important. Milosevic has been holding out for a lightly armed UN force. The NATO countries for a heavily armed NATO force.

But this question of the level of armaments is secondary to the issue of the nature of the force itself. President Clinton and other NATO leaders have been insisting that the core of the force be a NATO force, directed by NATO in effect with some Russians and others added. It's very clear that the Administration has in mind the poor performance of the UNPERFOR force in Bosnia, and the more successful model of the successor IFOR force with NATO plus forces from Russia and other partners for peace. Moreover, the Administration is clearly worried that good Security Council guidance on a UN force may not be forthcoming. The position of Russia, China and France in the Security Council is uncertain. Beyond that, a UN force may not be capable militarily of handling possible Serbian resistance.

There are other factors here that we have to bear in mind. The resistance of the Clinton Administration to acceptance of a UN-directed force in Kosovo. The United States would by implication face a certain implied humiliation if it has to accept a UN force for Kosovo and drop NATO. There is no doubt that the Congressional majority would make life hard for the Administration. And beyond that, the United States would end up having to pay its peacekeeping dues to the UN.

For his part, Milosevic wants a UN force over a NATO force. Accepting outright NATO occupation of Kosovo would be a very severe domestic defeat for him, possibly his political end. NATO is his enemy. A NATO force in Kosovo could enter and at some point conquer the rest of Serbia. And it could accelerate the secession of Kosovo from Serbia. Both sides are being obstinate on this point and that's the closing point in negotiation over the future of Kosovo.

I believe that the Clinton Administration should accept a UN force because a refusal to

do so confronts NATO with the grim prospect of bombing Serbia to its knees and then going in with ground forces, a long and even more bloody and expensive process. We can improve the past performance of UN peacekeeping forces and the composition of that force for Kosovo. But we will have to work with the Security Council more carefully and that is the big crime of omission if there is one in this picture for the Clinton Administration.

As regards the Security Council, the warning came last August on Iraq when France, Russia and China voted against the United States in the Security Council on the issue of continuing UNSCOM, the special commission for Iraq. Although it was ready engaged in negotiation with Serbia, the Administration failed to use the time between then and the Holbrooke mission to Milosevic in October, to improve the situation of the Security Council. That was a great omission, in my opinion, because we could have gotten a Security Council legitimation for the actions undertaken by NATO, or possibly even a wider UN military action. For the future we must act to prevent the Security Council from degenerating into cold war paralysis because this would definitely not be in the national interest of the US. I am arguing this point because it is very relevant to whether or not we should have a UN force in Kosovo.

Among the methods: better diplomacy. One can think of an informal agreement among the five permanent members of the Security Council to limit the veto on certain specified occasions. This is not something that is often proposed, i.e., an amendment of the charter, but an informal understanding. In particular Russia, Britain and France would be interested in preventing a degeneration, a deterioration, of the Security Council, which is one of their major claims to international status. They would be interested in talking about some kind of understanding. There is, and has long existed, an informal coordinating committee, of the permanent member of the Security Council.

Another possibility, that could be done very rapidly, is to establish a General Assembly conflict prevention panel or committee which could act to head off matters of this kind, and could be sued to give legitimation. There is the Uniting For Peace procedure, which could have given General Assembly authority for the present action in Kosovo even in the face of Russian veto in the Security Council.

We all know there is going to be a very intense and quite painful review of humanitarian intervention by bombing, an experiment that it not likely to be repeated. There will also be a review, certainly by NATO, of how it should conduct humanitarian intervention. I personally consider NATO intervention justified, and does represent the implementation of a national interest of the United States in two senses. (1) Stewardship of human rights, or accountability of governments for their performance in this field, is very clearly emerging as an international norm justifying humanitarian intervention of various kinds, not solely of military intervention. (2) As the very example of Bosnia showed, it is not politically possible for a country of eminence of the US to stay outside a long-standing blood-letting and stay on the sidelines. The Clinton Administration, from a position on the sidelines, was forced step by step into intervention in Bosnia and with less delay, but nonetheless with considerable delay, to the intervention in Kosovo.

I think the big lesson of this entire experience should be that we do have to start with conflict prevention, in the whole meaning of that term, very clearly as a necessary assurance against a very probably degeneration of this kind of armed conflict. The better off we will be as a nation to accept that as part of our national interest, and part of our activities and to do so early. I am saying this with a certain ax to grind, Mr. Chairman, I and my colleagues have a program called Global Action to Prevent War which is also directed at preventing future Kosovos. You can find it on the World Wide Web.

## INTRODUCTION OF THE EDUCATIONAL EXCELLENCE FOR ALL CHILDREN ACT OF 1999

HON. WILLIAM (BILL) CLAY

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 26, 1999

Mr. CLAY. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing the Educational Excellence for All Children Act of 1999, President Clinton's proposal to reauthorize the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA). This proposal will reinvigorate our commitment to high standards and achievement in every classroom; improve teacher and principal quality to ensure high-quality instruction for all children; strengthen accountability for results; and ensure safe, healthy, orderly and drug-free school environments where all children can learn.

Established in 1965 as part of President Lyndon B. Johnson's War on Poverty, the ESEA opened a new era of Federal support for education, particularly for students who would gain the most: children in our high-poverty communities and those at-risk of educational failure. Today, the ESEA authorizes the Federal government's single largest investment in elementary and secondary education. Through this Act, the Congress and the President will reaffirm and strengthen the Federal role in promoting academic excellence and equal educational opportunity for every American.

This reauthorization of ESEA comes at a critical time for our country. The restructuring of ESEA that was done during the last review in 1994, to establish challenging State-developed standards and assessments, put us on the path to greater academic achievement for all students. This legislation builds upon this focus and targets improvement towards the lowest performing schools and students through comprehensive interventions and assistance, and if necessary, requires consequences for continual failure of schools. Overall, this reauthorization gives Congress the opportunity to complete the work done in 1994 by strengthening our focus on quality and accountability for results.

Coupled with the strong emphasis on achievement in this bill is an equally vigorous and complimentary focus on improving the quality of our teaching force. Qualified teachers are the most single critical in-school factor in improving student achievement. Unfortunately, too many of our teachers still do not receive on-going high-quality professional development. This bill refocuses the professional development programs in ESEA to bring the

challenging academic standards which all States have developed into the classroom. In addition, this legislation authorizes the President's high-promising 100,000 teacher class-size program enacted as a part of last year's appropriation process. We must ensure that all children in America have talented, dedicated, teachers in small classes and this bill puts on this path.

Another important priority in this legislation is the fostering of supportive learning environments that reduces the likelihood of disruptive behavior and school violence while encouraging personal growth and academic development. This legislation strengthens the Safe and Drug-Free Schools and Act by emphasizing the funding of research-based approaches to violence prevention; expands the comprehensive prevention efforts through the Safe Schools/Healthy Students initiative; and encourages reform of America's high schools through increased individualized attention and learning.

In 1994, Congress and the President worked together to raise standards for all children and to provide a quality education for them to achieve those standards. Five years later, there is evidence that standards-based reform has increased achievement in many states, while helping spark reforms in others. With this bill, we must build upon the accomplishments of 1994. We can no longer tolerate lower expectations and results for poor and disadvantaged students. We must take the next step by helping schools and teachers bring high standards into every classroom and help every child achieve. The legislation I am introducing today will provide us with the tools to accomplish these vital missions.

TRIBUTE TO THREE MISSOURI  
PHYSICIANS: DR. GREGORY  
GUNN, DR. RAY LYLE, AND DR.  
RUTH KAUFFMAN

**HON. IKE SKELTON**

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, May 26, 1999*

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Speaker, let me take this opportunity to pay tribute to three excellent physicians who have devoted most of their lives to healing. These dedicated doctors practiced together at the Gunn Clinic in Versailles, Missouri, for over forty years.

Dr. Gregory Gunn is a fourth generation physician. He began as a country doctor, making house calls from Jefferson City to Sedalia. He performed difficult surgeries when internal medicine was still a largely unexplored territory. He thrived on working long hours, as his shifts often lasted 36 hours at a stretch, with only 12 hours off between them. Dr. Gunn also served for 16 years as the coroner of Morgan County, Missouri. He continues to be fascinated by the world of medicine and loves the daily challenges it presents him.

Dr. Ray Lyle served at the Gunn Clinic from August, 1952, until his retirement on August 31, 1995. As a family physician, Dr. Lyle treated patients of all ages with consistent kind-

ness and compassion, whether treating the sick, saving lives, making house calls or delivering babies. He served as a member and fellow of the American Academy of Family Physicians, as a Diplomat of the American Board of Family Physicians, and as President of the Missouri Academy of Family Physicians. As well as a competent physician, Dr. Lyle has also been an active participant in community affairs, contributing to such organizations as the Boy Scouts, the Morgan County School Board, Chairman of the Versailles Industrial Trust, Morgan County Coroner, Mid-Mo P.R.S.O. Chairman and charter member of the Rolling Hills Country Club. He also served his country as a Lieutenant Commander in the Medical Corps of the Naval Reserve.

Dr. Ruth Kauffman also selflessly served the people of the City of Versailles and Morgan County as a family physician with the Gunn Clinic from 1949 until her retirement on August 2, 1996. In her first year of practice, she performed 65 home deliveries. She served as a member of the American Medical Association, the Missouri State Medical Association, and was both a member and fellow of the American Academy of Family Physicians. She, too, was active in the community as Methodist Civic Chairman, Morgan County Coroner, Medical Director at Good Shepherd Nursing and Family Planning doctor at the Morgan County Health Center. She was also involved with Girl Scouting and was a charter member of the Rolling Hills Country Club.

Mr. Speaker, I know the Members of the House will join me in paying tribute to these fine Missourians for their unselfish dedication to the people and community of Versailles, Missouri.

ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN  
HERITAGE MONTH

SPEECH OF

**HON. TOM LANTOS**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, May 25, 1999*

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I invite my colleagues to join me in celebrating Asian/Pacific American Heritage month from May 1 to May 31, 1999.

Mr. Speaker, the greatness of our nation rests in its diversity: the diversity of its ideas, the diversity of its experiences, and, above all, the diversity of its peoples. America's institutions are constantly being reinvigorated by the vitality of our country's component communities, with their distinct but equally wondrous values and histories. This multitude of cultures fuses together to form a magnificent social mosaic, one made bolder and more dynamic by the contributions of citizens of diverse national origins. We learn from each other, and we share with each other the dividends of our different traditions.

Throughout the month of May, we celebrate the achievements of millions of Americans by commemorating Asian/Pacific American Heritage Month. This year's theme, "Celebrating Our Legacy," calls attention to the extraor-

dinary gifts that Asian and Pacific Americans have bestowed upon our nation. From the scientific community to the sports world, from the arts to the Internet, the perseverance and patriotism of Asian and Pacific Americans add to this country's greatness.

Internet pioneers such as Jerry Yang prepare our economy for the twenty-first century, while Dr. David Ho leads the crusade against one of the new millennium's most alarming dangers: AIDS. Congressman BOB MATSUI and Congresswoman PATSY MINK stand at the forefront of our government's fight for civil rights and social justice, and respected ABC news correspondent Connie Chung keeps America informed about these challenges and others with her insightful investigative report. This nation's cultural heritage has been enriched by the musical brilliance of Seiji Ozawa and Yo-Yo Ma, the creative genius of author Deepak Chopra and fashion designer Vera Wang, and the athletic skills of golfing superstar Tiger Woods and Olympic figure skating legends Kristi Yamaguchi and Michelle Kwan.

Mr. Speaker, these exceptional contributions are all the more evident when one considers the formidable obstacles which Asian and Pacific Americans had to overcome to achieve them. Their long history has featured pervasive discrimination in the form of restrictive quotas, unfounded stereotypes, and, all too often, violent hate crimes. The most infamous example of this bigotry involved the forced detention of Japanese-Americans during World War II, when innocent men, women, and children were expelled from their homes and banished to camps in remote parts of the country. This outrage remains a permanent stain on the history of the American people, sullyng an otherwise proud record of support for human rights and individual dignity.

While the American government officially questioned the patriotism of Japanese-Americans on our West Coast, other Japanese-Americans serving in our nation's armed forces in remote corners of the globe were demonstrating the fallacy of such unjust accusations. During the Second World War, the Japanese-American 100th Infantry Battalion and 442nd Regimental Combat units earned more than 18,000 medals for bravery and valor in battle—52 Distinguished Service Crosses, 560 Silver Stars, and 9,480 Purple Hearts. The 442nd remains to this day the most decorated combat team of its size in the history of the United States Army. Yet, while the brave soldiers of these units were risking their lives to preserve freedom, the government for which they so courageously fought was evicting their family members from their homes and communities.

Mr. Speaker, this is only one of a multitude of examples of Asian and Pacific Americans surmounting the hurdles of prejudice and discrimination to make a difference in every sector of society. It is these innumerable stories of perseverance and success that we celebrate Asian/Pacific American Heritage Month.

Mr. Speaker, I ask my colleagues to join me in celebrating the legacy of all Americans of Asian and Pacific descent.